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the spirits' arrows. Also, the spirits of dead trees may be present anywhere in the neighborhood and wound those with whom they collide. A person with an overheated body feels the arrow wound from a spirit as a fillip with the fingertips. This is the supposed cause of some deaths, due ultimately to the malefactions of some shaman. The most dangerous tree of all is the *caapi cipó* (*Banisteria* sp.), which the Tukuna know only by its Peruvian name of *ayahuasca*, sometimes corrupted into čučuva'ču. It is strange that they are unaware of the plant's qualities; because of this ignorance they do not prepare from it any narcotic, as do the neighboring Indians. Thus, they know that the Kokáma possess a plant which produces visions; but only one Tukuna, now deceased, learned from them its use as a narcotic, and he did not pass the knowledge along to anyone else.

According to my informants, the chief Domingos čʉ'nekị, a curing shaman (p. 65) had a different method of stimulating visions. There is a cultivated tree with small, white, calycine flowers which, when broken open, exhibit a liquid. Placing drops of this in his eyes, čʉ'nekị succeeded in seeing the demon dyë'vaë (see p. 120), as well as other demons (ñɔɔ'), and the tree spirits; he could also discover his enemies. Other trees possessing spirits are the kapok, *sumahuma*, whose spirit is identified with the forest-demon Caapora of the lingua geral, the *manixy* (?), the *açacú* (*Hura crepitans*), the muirapiranga, the *ucuhuba* (*Virola* sp.), and a tree which reaches at the most a diameter of fifteen centimeters and is called in Tukuna na'ĩ³-ya-dyʉ'ị, that is, "shaman log." Its wood has an odor similar to that of laurel, and the soil around its trunk is always barren.

Instruction of a shaman.—Any person who wishes to become a shaman must be placed in contact with the spirits of the trees by another person already initiated. Some shamans begin to educate their sons when the boys are six years old. Usually, however, the aspirant betakes himself to a master of recognized fame, whom he pays for instruction. This teacher begins only after sunset. Within only two months' time the disciple (nyëna'rịkatị) possesses the most necessary knowledge for curing through suction and by the application of herbs or other medicinal substances.

During this period of instruction he must abstain from sexual intercourse and must follow a diet, eating only certain fishes (cachorra, trahira, sardinha, curimatá, caraüacú vermelho, and jejú, but no scaleless fish) and green bananas, taking care that these last are straight and not curved as they usually are. Among birds especially recommended to him are macucáua (*Tinamus* sp.) and *tangurupará* (*Monassa* sp.). All of his food must contain very little salt; he should completely abstain from pepper, fats, sweets, and alcoholic beverages and should also avoid exposure to the sun.

Initiation is in two parts: in the first, the master presents to the disciple a portion of the magical substances in his body; in the second, he places him in contact with the spirits of the trees. The disciple is specially prepared for the initiation; he must drink a gourdful of tobacco infusion so as to vomit all impurities (puya) acquired through sexual contact; after which he must wash out his mouth. The infusion leaves him in a state of narcosis. The master, by massaging his own body, directs toward his mouth all the magical substances which he possesses, vomiting them in the form of slime (ta:'kaka; l.g., *tacacá*, a beverage of manioc starch). Holding the slime in the palm of his hand, he shows this to the disciple, inviting him to

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choose [the powers he desires]: "Do you want these two?" They are good ones. Or those two? They are bad ones. Or these others?" The disciple swallows the ones chosen.

On the following day the master teaches his pupil the songs of the tree spirits, and at night asks one of them to visit the pupil. It comes to him in a dream in human form, about the size of a four-year-old child, and hands the dreamer a small gourd with a tobacco infusion, which he drinks. Then the spirit asks him what he wishes, and the disciple indicates his desire to have the spirit as an assistant. Then the spirit sings his song (na'aë), which the novice learns and sings after the visitor's departure.

When this initiation is completed, the master does not fail to advise the learner in forceful and energetic terms never to abuse his acquired powers but to employ them exclusively against "our enemies," that is, against evil sorcerers, so that he will not, beneath the cudgels of avengers, die before his time.

Witchcraft through "thorns".[1]—However, for a shaman the temptation to employ his acquired powers against any object of private disaffection is great and, if the new shaman has not already received any magical substances (ta:'kaka) of evil effect, he asks one of the spirit trees that possess thorns, especially the pupunha palm and the açacú, for them. At the foot of one of these trees he clears a spot, and on it he places a small gourd with a cigarette rolled in the inner bark of tauarí lying across the top. The following morning he finds in the pot the ta:'kaka, which contains (in an altered state) the thorns requested; this he swallows. The thorns, the sorcerer's "arrows," are placed on his right forearm; the "bow" is his left forearm.

Even so, the sorcerer does not shoot his projectiles with the motion of an arrow release. Going alone into the jungle after sunset, he concentrates the magic substances on his right thumb, and, giving a flick with the thumbnail placed beneath the nail of the third finger, he speeds the thorns on their way toward the victim. Some shamans, as far as can be ascertained, vomit the ta:'kaka, afterward throwing it with the hand. The thorns, always male and female, penetrate the body of the bewitched invisibly, and usually insensibly; there they meet and reproduce in great numbers, spreading throughout the entire body via the bloodstream, corrupting it and causing death, unless a competent person intervenes in time.

The sick person has recourse to a shaman, whose first care is to see in a dream the perpetrator of evil. Afterward, by feeling the patient he locates the thorns and extracts them by sucking. A treatment with vegetable medicines completes the cure (see p. 23). The medicinal properties of many plants are general knowledge, and they may be used by anyone; it is only hoped that the shaman may have more extensive knowledge of them.

Occasionally the Tukuna employ a curious medicine to provoke vomiting. In the igapós of their territory, a tree frog (*Phyllomedusa* sp.; T., ba'kɔrɔ, in imitation of the croak) is found fairly frequently, which has a vivid green back, a whitish belly, and on its flanks a slime of soapy consistency that disintegrates in water. The creature moves extremely slowly, hence it is easily captured. The Indians

[1] Magical substances are always in pairs, male and female.

[2] *Espinhos:* lit., "thorns," "boils," "afflictions." After examination of the context, I believe that "thorns" is the best term.—Trans.

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825 759 catch it by means of a leaf and transfer the slime directly to the skin of the arm, in order to produce vomiting, for example, after a drinking bout.

Other witchcraft.—Thorns, however, are not the only means by which the sor- 754 cerers destroy the objects of their malevolence. Some harbor a venomous snake in their body and send it against the enemy. Others sing to the spirit of the "shaman log" rotting on the riverbank, transforming it into a snake that will bite the enemy as he passes. Not all snake bites are caused by witchcraft, however; there are snakes that, without having any connection at all with shamans, bite anyone who passes. Again, sorcerers send the ghosts of ferocious animals against the persons whom they wish to eliminate, causing the victims to provoke bloody quarrels in which they are killed. Others, by a method I failed to learn, cause madness in their victims, who commit suicide. The suicides described earlier, and one not mentioned, [762] were all attributed to the malefactions of the celebrated warlock, u'irʉ, whose death I shall relate farther on.

An interesting observation concerning this madness caused by witchcraft was made to me by Calixto daueru'kị, himself a shaman of no mean reputation: "The sorcerer can injure only fools, against the wise he can do nothing." For this reason the Tukuna believe that their warlocks are powerless against civilized persons. Quirino, who died in 1932, swore that, among the Tukuna of Peruaté, Peru, he had been an eyewitness to an act of sorcery, which he described as follows. One day, while yet a boy, he followed an old man going into the jungle. There Quirino watched him weave the figure of a jaguar from uarumã, on which he placed a strip of tururí stretching from the tip of the muzzle to the tip of the tail. He had received this tururí, as well as the uarumã, from the underworld, na:'pị (the habitation of the demons). He stretched the tururí until it covered the figure entirely, afterward painting it with black spots like those of a jaguar. Then he turned to the boy and said, "Do not be alarmed!" and tossed the figure on top of an anthill (*cupim*). Immediately it was transformed into a live jaguar, which ran off howling into the jungle. This jaguar killed people and brought their bodies to the old man, who ate them.

Quirino told his father what he had seen, and the news spread, coming to the attention of the civilized Peruvians, who ordered the old man arrested and burned. This story is interesting because it proves that warlocks maintain relations also with the demons of the underworld.

754 682 *Identification of a murdering sorcerer.*—When a person is considered to have died as a result of witchcraft, his relatives do not always take the trouble to have the murdering sorcerer discovered. Sometimes, however, they call in a competent [768] shaman, who smokes beside the corpse, goes to sleep, and sees in a dream the soul of the slayer coming to eat his victim. Formerly there were shamans who, after obliging everyone else to leave the house, sang in sight of the cadaver, smoked, and opened the earth invisibly by means of magic gestures with their hands. Through this aperture they invoked the warlock's soul, and as soon as it appeared they struck it down. The wounded soul immediately returned to the body of the sorcerer who died within the hour.

754 Nino ɋvẽn|'kị told me the following about the death of Marcellino, the famous sorcerer and chief of the čara' clan, at which he was present in 1938. The sou

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lateral hole, a little below the tip. It was so described to me by Nino, who had seen one used by old Romão. I myself never got to see one.

Soul loss.—We have already seen (p. 101) how the spirits of the trees may cause disease, not only at the request of a sorcerer but also spontaneously. In addition, there are still two categories of disease: those caused by soul loss and those caused by epidemics of post-Columbian origin. The tree spirits kidnap the souls of the living, but apparently only those of children, as do the aquatic demon dyẽ'vaẽ and the ghosts of the defunct (načii'). For this purpose they whistle and call a child by name when the soul accompanies it by night through the jungle.

Nino told me how the soul of his daughter, ñua'čina, had been stolen when the child was being given a bath in the igarapé. As a result, she became pallid and weak and, had not the shaman Thomaz intervened, she would have died. At nightfall he sang, as the child lay in her mother's arms; he blew smoke over her from heel to head and in the opposite direction, then placed the extinct cigarette butt below the nape of her neck and went to sleep. At midnight he awoke and inquired about the child's condition. She was already nursing again, and her eyes were normal. He then ordered the parents to suspend the cigarette butt from her neck until it should fall of its own accord.

When a child under two years of age cries alone, the shades of the dead arrive and carry off its soul. A shaman may force its return to the body again by the process described above, but the danger is that the soul may have already tasted the food of the shades. In this event, the child begins to eat earth, coal, and so forth, and always dies sooner or later.

Cure of epidemics.—Epidemics come from the sun, where their presence is indicated by a greenish aureole. Without the sun's desire they are carried off by the wind, which spreads them among men. On the occasion of a serious epidemic of catarrh, a certain shaman called the people together, collected the invisible pathogenic substance from each, placed it in an urn, and rendered it harmless by smoking.

Dreams.—During a dream, the soul (naa'ë) abandons the body and has its own adventures, which are real and may be of great consequence. Through dreams the shaman acquires his spirit assistant, gets in touch with the tree spirit, or identifies the sorcerer responsible for a patient's illness or death. We have seen how an injury to the soul of a warlock in a dream excursion caused the warlock's death. Some adventures of the soul in dreams are warnings of things to come in the near future. If a bank subsides or a tree falls on a person in a dream, it is because others plot against him. If he sees himself painted with genipapo, this means blood and that he will be murdered. An encounter with a jaguar in a dream indicates the arrival of a companion or of a member of the čiva' (jaguar) clan, whereas the visit of an Auahy clan member is announced by a dream of a snake. If the snake turns aggressive, however, disease is on the way.

Female witchcraft.—Contrary to what Tessmann was told, there are no female magicians in contact with tree spirits or capable of causing death or of removing the spells put on others. What can happen is this: a woman, in order to injure the object of her hatred, plucks a few of her victim's hairs, which she places in an ant nest. Or she ties them to some branches on the riverbank where their seesaw

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Mond und Sterne und auch die Menschen, letztere aus Erde." It is clear that this description refers to the Christian God, not to a personage of the ancient religion.

Even today the Tukuna regard the Jewish peddlers, who sometimes appear in their territory, as the direct descendants of the legendary dyure'u, believing them to be tailed, or that at least one of them[13] is so adorned.

The souls.—The naa'ë or soul is, according to an expression of the shaman Calixto daueru'kị, "what we think" (or thought)." This type of soul is given the fetus while it is still within the womb; if ta-ë' is careless, the child is born spiritually defective.

Dreams are the adventures of the soul, and in them the soul of a wicked sorcerer may commit his crimes in far-off places. The soul, not the body, is responsible for our acts. Its abandonment of the body causes death, after which the soul normally returns to heaven.

The shades of the dead.—Quite different from the role of the naa'ë is that of man's second soul, the načii'. Nevertheless, I have repeatedly gained the impression that the Indians do not always distinguish the two clearly. The načii' is the shade of the dead. It "is of no importance," the Tukuna told me; it remains on earth near the place where the individual died. At abandoned house sites (taperas) the načii' congregate, preferably assuming the forms of nocturnal swallows, bacuráos (*Caprimulgus* sp.), but also sometimes those of toads or other creatures. Ribeiro de Sampaio probably referred to this belief when he wrote: "In their philosophy they profess the miserable dogma of metempsychosis, or the Pythagorean doctrine of transmigration of souls to another body, even to irrational [*sic*] ones."[14] Most of the time, however, a man's načii' appears in the exact form he had in life, only betraying its nature by certain whimsical habits. The načii' are moderately dangerous, owing to their mania for sucking blood, flesh, and bones of living people, so as to leave only the empty skin. In the Tukuna idiom this is called "to put the genipapo on someone," because of the black color of the marks left by sucking. A few legends will give a better idea of the načii''s habits.

duë' and the načii'

An Indian named duë' went out to hunt deep in the jungle; he saw that he was near a house he recognized, in which he thought to spend the night. Dusk was falling when he reached it and found it deserted. The ground inside the house was already covered with mould. The inhabitants had gone fishing on Lake Curaná [between the Igarapé de São Jeronymo and the Solimões], where the Omágua attacked them, killing everyone. duë' climbed up under the roof of the house to spend the night there, but just as it turned completely dark he heard on the path the cries of many swallows, which began to talk among themselves in the human language. They were the shades of the murdered people of the house, which had returned home. "Daughter," he heard a woman say, "go up to the loft and fetch a little maize so that we may prepare mingau!" Soon the girl, in the form of a swallow, came up by the motá [Lg. for notched-log ladder] to the platform where duë' lay prone. He seized her and commenced to tear out her feathers.

"Come quickly, my daughter!" said the mother. "I cannot," answered the girl swallow. "This man here is plucking out my feathers!" Then duë' threw her down from the platform to the floor, where she died; then he pulled the ladder up beside him. The shades gathered round the dead swallow. "We shall put the genipapo marks on this fellow!" they cried. They searched all around

[13] The sense of the passage indicates that these Jewish peddlers travel in pairs.—Trans.
[14] The word means "judgment"; ku ñë a'ë, "thou hast no judgment."
[15] Ribeiro de Sampaio, § 212.

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Customarily, these manifestations are the following. A boy, or a girl in seclusion, begins to have repeated visions during which he or she converses with the ma:'-g|ta (p. 135), who sometimes conduct the young person's soul temporarily to their dwelling. From these immortals the visionary learns of the imminence of a cataclysm that will destroy the *civilizados*, and of the means by which the Indians may survive the disaster. Escape generally depends on their assembling in some indicated spot sheltered from the catastrophe, and on the performance of certain ceremonies. However, as soon as this assembly takes place, the Neobrazilians, judging the Indians by themselves, fear a revolt and with more or less brutality intervene to crush the movement. Such interference, however, does not prevent its resurgence at more or less lengthy intervals, as long as the four features cited above remain in vigor.

Thus the Tukuna told me that forty or fifty years ago the prophecies of a girl in Peruvian territory resulted in a gathering of Indians from both Peru and Brazil. One day Neobrazilians surrounded the assembly and attacked it with firearms, killed some Indians, thrashed the rest, and carried off the girl prophetess to an unknown fate.

Some ten years ago a young Indian named Aureliano, of Cuyarú on the Rio Jacurapá, began to experience visions. They made him a house set aside from the others, where he remained alone to receive the revelations of the immortals. Since the conduct of the assembled Indians offered not the slightest excuse for intervention on the part of the *civilizados*, they finally arrested Aureliano for failure to pay taxes on guitars and fiddles he had made.

The seer of São Jeronymo.—I am a little better informed on the last movement of this nature, which took place in January, 1941, two months before my second visit to the Tukuna.

In a spacious house on solid ground on the left bank of Igarapé de São Jeronymo lives the Indian José Nonato with his wife, daughter, and four sons. In order to reach the house from the bank of the igarapé it is necessary to cross over almost a kilometer of igapó. Parents and children appear to be pure-blooded Indians, the woman belonging to the Mutum clan, the father and children to the Muirapiranga clan. None of the family speaks even the most elementary Portuguese. All exhibit the Tukuna physical type, at best very coarse, in its crudest form. Only the second son, ñora'ne, is distinguished from the rest by his slightly more attractive features and a more intelligent look. In 1940 he was about thirteen or fourteen years old. When I saw him, I observed no pathological signs.

As 1940 wore on, the lad suddenly began to have visions. While he was fishing in his little canoe near the edge of the igapó, some distance away from the house, a white man appeared to him. (Later the lad repeatedly affirmed that the man looked just like me!) Seated alone in a canoe, the stranger approached the boy, sprang ashore, and began to talk to him, asking if he had caught anything. When ñora'ne said yes, the man asked for the catch, and left in his canoe, promising to meet ñora'ne at the same spot three days hence.

The boy returned home, where his changed demeanor aroused the attention of his parents and siblings: the merry youth had suddenly grown serious and taciturn. His mother extracted the confession that he had seen an immortal. She

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scolded the boy, saying that this business of seeing an immortal was a lie, and what he had seen was probably a demon (ṅɔɔ'). But three days later, ṅəra'ne again met the apparition at the spot, as arranged. This time the visitant promised that on the following day he would visit the boy at his parents' house. In fact, the boy did catch sight of his figure the next day at the edge of the jungle surrounding the house and, springing up, at once ran off to meet him. His parents and siblings, who had been watching suspiciously, thought the boy insane, and ran after him to catch him, but ṅəra'ne disappeared in the jungle, and in spite of a careful search they failed to find him.

Three days later he suddenly appeared of his own accord. He declared that the son of *e'pi*, tẹku-kịra' (ṅəra'ne always referred to him as ta-na'tị, "Our Father!") had taken him far up the igarapé to his house on ë'varë Creek, where he dwelt with the immortals in possession of all the blessings of civilization. ta-na'tị charged him to tell the Tukuna the following: Everyone should assemble at the site of dyəi''s abandoned house, taivegị'ne, clear a big plantation, and erect a large house in the old style for celebrating certain festivals. Afterward, a huge flood would come and annihilate all the *civilizados*, but the Tukuna at taivegị'ne would be spared.

Then, a kinsman of José Nonato went up to the igarapé to find the place described by ṅəra'ne, but failed. At last José Nonato communicated the message to the other Indians of the igarapé, and most of them obeyed the instructions with the utmost alacrity. José Nonato's family was the first to move to taivegị'ne, while the others were still manufacturing the necessary farinha for the projected move.

According to the opinion of many, this premature departure of Nonato was an error; he should have waited until all were ready. By January, 1941, most of the Indians from Igarapé de São Jeronymo were assembled at taivegị'ne. Since José Nonato himself had not the slightest authority in religious matters, an old shaman named Julião assumed command, but evidently his ability to direct such a movement was also deficient. Immediately a very extensive clearing was made with admirable speed, but the construction of the great house met with difficulty since no one possessed the requisite technical knowledge.

Meanwhile, the patrão of the Tukuna at Igarapé de São Jeronymo, Senhor Quirino Maffra of Perpetuo Socorro on the banks of the Solimões, got wind of the movement and immediately realized that, even if the religious part of the movement failed, the success of the economic and social aspects of the program alone would result in his losing the services of the Indians for his own purposes and, consequently, his control over them. In order to forestall this economic threat, he traveled to the Indians' gathering place, ridiculed the prophecies as absurd lies, and threatened to deport ṅəra'ne to Rio de Janeiro and to have the government annihilate the assembled Indians by aerial bombardment. (The Tukuna knew of aerial warfare from the Leticia territorial dispute between Peru and Colombia in 1933.) At the same time ta-na'tị announced through ṅəra'ne that he was withdrawing his aid from the Indians gathered at taivegị'ne because one of them had committed incest—that is, had broken the exogamic moiety restrictions—with one of Juliño's daughters. As a result, the Indians returned home, each one to his old dwelling place, and for the time being the movement was a failure.

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ñora'ne continued to have visions from time to time, almost exclusively of the feasts which ta-na'tị and his companions celebrated at Igarapé ë'varë, which were apparently carried out in the fashion of rich *civilizados*, with roasted oxen to eat, and so on. In his visions he also encountered me several times, since I was among ta-na'tị's companions. Since I always treated ñora'ne kindly, giving him several small presents, he grew greatly attached to me and was unable to conceal his delight in my company, embracing me and following me about wherever I might go. ñora'ne spoke not a word of Portuguese; he told his revelations preferably to several women and girls related to him, from whom I in turn heard them. [123]

The Tukuna Religion and the Neobrazilians

The Indians will give absolutely no explanation of their religion to the Neobrazilians, especially to the priests. To satisfy importunate interrogators they usually affirm belief in "tupana" (l.g. for "god" or "saint") and fear of the "yurupari'" (l.g. for "devil"), but they reveal nothing about dyoi' or ta-ë' or about their animistic beliefs. References in the literature, from Ribeiro de Sampaio in 1884 to Tessmann, are proof of this: there is always apparent the pretense of a belief in Christianity without any basis in fact. The Capuchin missionary Frei Fidelis has for several years been making praiseworthy efforts to learn something of the native religion. Until 1941, at least, he had learned nothing—nor had the Tukuna learned anything from him. They treat him well; they like him for his simple and affable ways but are secretly convinced, in spite of everything, that he can be only an enemy of their religious traditions; hence they continue to pull his leg with yarns of tupa'na and the yurupari'. [114]

To illustrate the extent of Tukuna pretense of Christianity I might mention only that, at a puberty ceremony, I saw on a masquerader, and afterward acquired, a mask of tɔ|' that sported the miter, cross, and reddish beard (imitated by hair of a squirrel's tail) of the prelate of São Paulo de Olivença. I also saw another demon masquerader who brandished as a dance staff a cross that could have come only from some Christian grave.

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as the western rainbow. Some cause the dangerous whirlpools of the Solimões River, but can be calmed by the priests.

The culture heroes.—The most outstanding character in *Tucuna* religion is Dyaí, the culture hero, who made people, established all tribal laws and customs, and gave mankind the most important elements of material culture. He was the demons' most feared enemy. At times harsh and cruel, he is never deceitful. Even toward his brother, Epi, an intruder and shameless liar, he is indulgent and kindly, mocking him and punishing him only occasionally. The *Tucuna* avoid using the name Dyaí and call him Tânáti (Our Father), Baiá, or Búi. Sometimes Dyaí is called Téginènapii-va-ya (the one of the right knee), and Epi is called, Tavenapii-va-ya (the one of the left knee).

A long myth cycle recounts the origin of Dyaí and Epi and their deeds. Dyaí, with a blowgun in his hand, and his sister Maváca, with a net pouch, were born from the right knee of Nutapa; Epi, with a spear, and his sister Aikine, with a carrying basket, were born from the left knee of Nutapa, who was later killed by a jaguar. The brothers avenged his death and resurrected him. Afterward, Dyaí acquired daylight, sleep, fire, and cultivated plants, and saved Epi from a series of difficulties into which he had thrown himself. The brothers were joined by Teci-ari-nuí, daughter of Aikine, whom Epi had seduced. Dyaí punished the seducer by compelling him to grate himself when he grated the genipa for painting the son of Teci-ari-nuí. After he again took a human shape, the two companions created men from fish caught with a hook. Finally, they separated, Dyaí going east and Epi west.

On the bank of the upper Igarapé Preto de São Geronymo the *Tucuna* showed the former site of Taivegíne, Dyaí's house; Epi's house, called Déi, is somewhat downstream. There Epi's son, Teku-kirá, lives today with many other immortals (iíne, or má/gita), the men whom Dyaí and Epi fished out of the water. At night during the full moon one can hear them feasting but no one dares approach for fear of becoming insane. Some mortals (dyunati) have become immortal by taking a drink offered by the iíne, whereupon they accompany the immortals to their residence.

The *Tucuna* have a legend of a world conflagration and a subsequent deluge.

The eclipses of the moon are caused by the struggle of a star with a heavenly demon of the Jaguar clan.

Messianism.—The *Tucuna* messianic movement springs from a consciousness of having offended Dyaí, the culture hero, by corrupting their ancient spiritual (not material) culture under the influence of the civilized people, and from a fear that the cataclysms of former times will be repeated. It also involves the tendency of immortals to appear during a person's puberty. In repeated visions, a pubescent man or woman in seclusion sees and talks with the immortals (má/gita), who sometimes may

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carry his soul (naáe) to their abode and keep it there for a time. The immortals foretell an imminent cataclysm, which threatens to destroy civilized people, and instruct the Indians to save themselves by gathering at a sheltered place and performing certain ceremonies. As soon as the Indians assemble, the civilized people quash the movement, fearing a threat to their interests. This happened in 1941, when the *Tucuna* met in Taivegine, following the visionary instruction of a 13-year old boy named Naráne.

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